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Lulu H. Holmes

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IN JAPAN,  
1946-1948

Interviewed by

Helene Maxwell Brewer

Berkeley  
1968





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the following tape(s) of Interviews recorded on August 12 and August 13, 1966.  
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In addition, I give to the Oral History Research Office of Columbia  
University for such scholarly use and purposes as the Director shall  
determine, a transcript of the above interviews.

Lulu H. Holmes  
Name of narrator - Dr. Lulu H. Holmes

1773 Spruce St. Berkeley CA 94709  
Address of narrator

Helene M. Brewer  
Name of interviewer -Dr. Helene M. Brewer

Queens College of the City Univ. of NY  
Address of interviewer

August 29, 1968  
Date of agreement

Higher Education for Women in Japan, 1946-1948  
Subject of tape(s)





Matsuyo Omori and Lulu Holmes



Miss Holmes at desk - Radio Tokyo Building  
1946-1948



Tsuda College Campus - 1947  
2nd from left, Yoshi Kasuya, later President of Tsuda  
3rd from left, Ai Hoshino, then President of Tsuda



## INTERVIEW HISTORY

Interviewer: Mrs. Helene M. Brewer, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English, Queen's College of the City University of New York.

Interviewee: Miss Lulu Holmes, Ph.D., Dean of Women, Drury College, Springfield, Missouri, 1929-1936.

Faculty, Kobe Women's College, Japan, 1934-1935.

Dean of Women and Associate Dean of Students, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, 1936-1956.

Ph.D., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Dissertation, A History of the Position of Dean of Women in a Selected Group of Co-education Colleges and Universities in the United States. Published as Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 767, 1939.

Advisor to Supreme Command of the Allied Powers, on Higher Education for Women in Japan, 1946-1948.

## Place and Time of Interview:

August 12, and August 13, 1966. Miss Holmes' bungalow at 1773 Spruce Street, Berkeley, California.

## Conduct of Interview:

Mrs. Brewer offered to interview Miss Holmes for the Bancroft Library Donated Tapes Collection as there was no funded series on Japan being undertaken by the Regional Oral History Office.

Subsequent to the taping, it was arranged that the tapes be transcribed by the Oral History Research Office of Columbia University for inclusion in their Occupation of Japan series.





In 1968 the tapes were transcribed verbatim, returned to Miss Holmes to check over, corrected for spelling errors only, and photo-copied. Copies will be deposited in the Bancroft Library, the Department of Special Collections at the University of California at Los Angeles, and at the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University.

Some papers relevant to the interview are deposited in the Bancroft Library.

Willa K. Baum, Head  
Regional Oral History Office

2 September 1968

Regional Oral History Office  
Room 486 The Bancroft Library  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

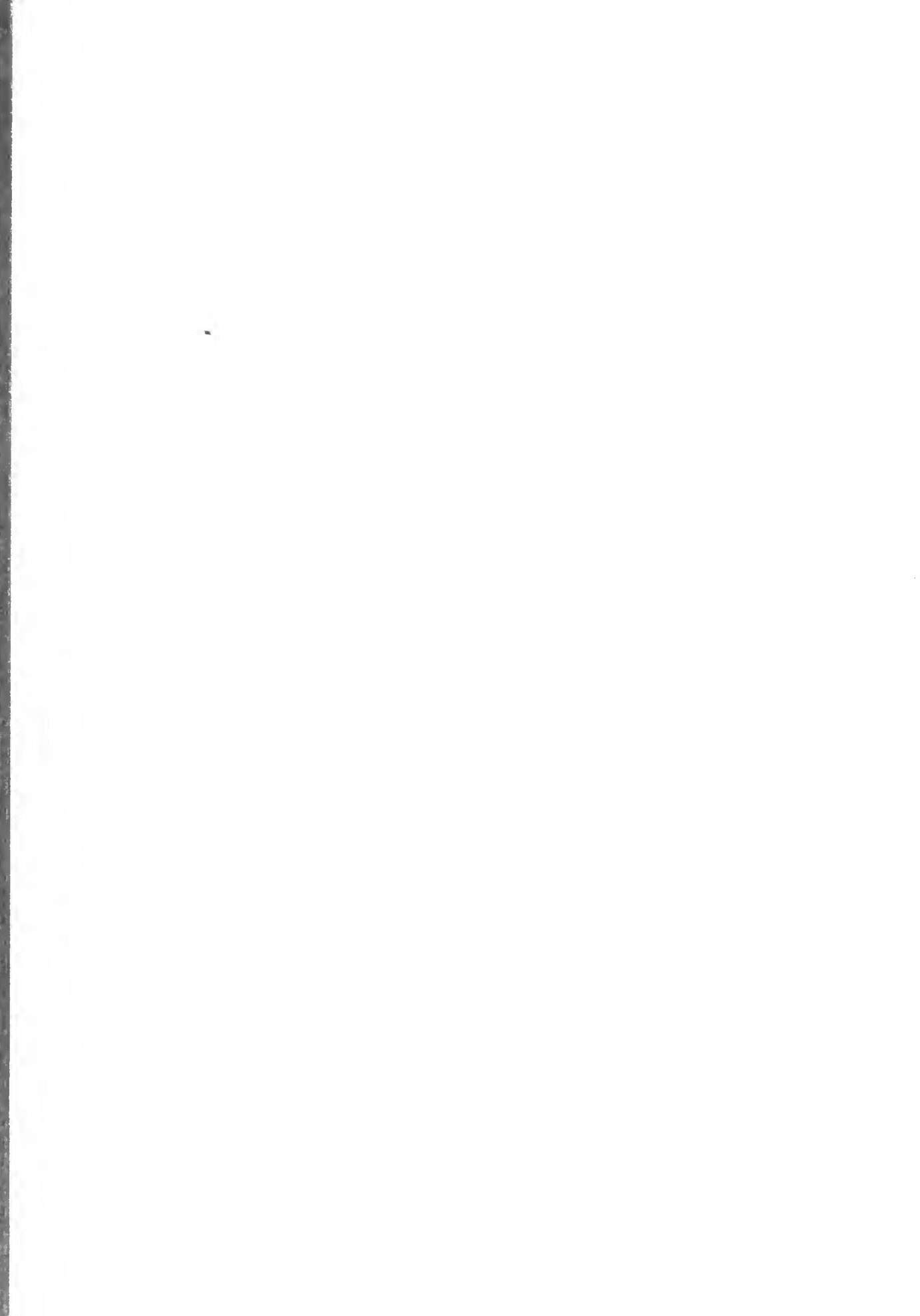


## INTRODUCTION

The following interview with Dean Lulu Holmes is the result of a chance meeting in Sproul Place at the University of California.

Late one sunny afternoon in August 1966, I encountered Dean Lulu Holmes, who was sitting on a bench watching the students. Because we both belonged to the Women's Faculty Club of the University of California, we were slightly acquainted. In response to Miss Holmes's inquiries, I explained that I was on my way to Tokyo, where for a year I was to be Visiting Fulbright Lecturer in American Literature. At this Dean Holmes exclaimed, "We must talk more. I know Japan well. I taught at Kobe College before the war and from August 1946 to March 1948, I was with SCAP as Adviser on Higher Education for Women in Japan. I have good friends there. Perhaps I can help you by telling you something about the history of women's education there."

When I remarked that Miss Tano Jodai, the ex-President of Japan Women's University, had invited me, Miss Holmes exclaimed that she had worked closely with Miss Jodai during her year and a half in Japan. "In fact," she continued, "I am an honorary faculty member of Japan Women's University." To my inquiry about Tsuda College, Miss Holmes stated that



she knew both the ex-President, Miss Hoshino, and Miss Taki Fujita, the present president. (Two years later, I was able to tell Miss Holmes that of all the active presidents I had met, I admired and liked Miss Fujita the most.)

A few nights later Miss Holmes brought some of her letters and pictures to the Women's Faculty Club and rapidly sketched her wartime experiences. The meeting had to end early but by this time I realized that Dean Holmes's brief first-hand account and her part in the extraordinarily important revision and reorganization of women's education in postwar Japan was unique. I, therefore, discussed these recollections with Mrs. Willa Baum, Head of the Regional Oral History Office at the University of California. Mrs. Baum immediately saw the historical value of Miss Holmes's experiences and ruefully remarked that the Office's limited financial budget was entirely allocated; but she informed me that if I wanted to borrow a tape recorder and attempt an interview by myself, the Office would cooperate to its limited fullest extent.

The following interview is the result; it took place on two consecutive days, August 12 and 13, 1966. Because Dean Holmes wanted to refer to her considerable archive, the tape recorder was set up at her bungalow on Spruce Street, Berkeley, a place decorated with fine Japanese prints and other mementoes of her 1946-48 experience. The second interview



interview is noticeably shorter than the first, in part because Dean Holmes was tired from the exertions of her lengthy discussion (47 typed pages) the day before. She was at all times fully cooperative. She spoke forcefully and in well organized sentences. At no time did she describe an incident or tell a story and then decide it could not be used.

Dean Holmes's biography and her qualifications for her huge SCAP assignment are described in the opening pages of the manuscript itself and do not need to be repeated here. What emerges in her account are the personal recollections of someone deeply involved in one of the most important undertakings of "Japan's American interlude." Since the narrative is entirely personal, Dean Holmes has of course not attempted to analyze the impact of the historical changes in which she played such a part; in short, what we are given here is a fine statement of intention and early organization.

Two years after this meeting with Dean Holmes, I returned from my Fulbright lectureship and read the manuscript. During my stay in Japan I had taught steadily at Japan Women's University, at Tokyo University of Education, and at Tsuda College. For one term I had been Visiting Lecturer at the University of Tokyo. In addition to these ordinary daily duties, I had lectured up and down Japan, from Sapporo in Hokkaido to Kumamoto and Fukuoka in Kyushu; in Kanazawa and





that would give Mombusho a push, and Miss Holmes gave a big push."

At the present time, the question of the extensiveness of the American educational reforms in Japan is still being debated, particularly in the universities. One may agree with Professor Kimura of the Economics Department of the University of Tokyo, who argues that with its ill-digested combination of Germanic organization on which is faultily superimposed American so-called reforms, "Japanese higher education is a mess." Or one may agree with Professor Fumi Takano, possibly Japan's most distinguished woman professor of American literature, who says, "If there is any mystery left in the Orient, it is all to be found in the Japanese university system."

Last spring I was discussing women's education with a newspaper correspondent who remarked, "The longer I stay here, the more I learn about Japan, the more I'm convinced that nothing has changed. Maybe the names are different, but underneath it's all the same." Subsequently I asked several friends and colleagues for their reactions to this opinion. Unanimously they agreed.

If they were asked, many Japanese would still agree with the remark of the president of the teacher training college at Sendai (page 6 of the manuscript). They would undoubtedly agree with one of Japan's most distinguished



professors of American Studies who not long ago opened a colloquium with, "Ladies and gentlemen--Ah, thank God, there are no ladies present." (What he overlooked was the presence of a tape recorder.) There is still a mistrust of too much education for women; one finds that many parents regard it as an impediment to a good marriage. For this reason, they discourage graduate work for women. There is a general feeling that in most cases, education for women is second-class. As Dean Holmes has remarked (page 39 of the manuscript) the Japanese graduate schools are reluctant to accept women. When I first sat on screening committees in which Japanese women competed with men for fellowships or grants-in-and for study in the United States, I was naively shocked to see and hear the Japanese professors downgrade the women candidates, particularly if they were good enough to offer serious competition to the men. As one professor said, "If she were a man, I'd put her in the first class. But since she'll probably marry, I'll put her in the third class."

At the present time the private colleges that played so important a part in the fight for full education for Japanese women are having a difficult time. Dean Holmes's account underscores the determination, heroism of the Japanese women, some of them named in this manuscript, some anonymous, who refused to take NO for an answer. The struggle for equal education for men and women is still going on, and the



outcome is not predictable.

Helene Maxwell Brewer  
Interviewer

August 29, 1968

Women's Faculty Club  
University of California  
Berkeley, California



Interview with Dean Lulu Holmes

by Dr. Helena Brewer

August 12, 1966

Brewer: Dean Holmes, what was your experience in Higher Education for Women prior to your appointment to SCAP?

Holmes: I took my undergraduate work at Whitman College in Washington. Then I went on to get my Master's degree and my Ph.D. in Student Personnel work at Teachers College, Columbia University. Before I went to my position at SCAP, I had been for sixteen years a Dean of Women, first at Drury College in Springfield, Missouri; then at the State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

During that time I had had a year's leave of absence and spent that year as professor of history at Kobe Jogakuin, and there I learned a great deal under the tutelage of Dr. Charlotte DeForest, long-time president of that college, about the problems of women's education in Japan. It was from my contacts at that position that I believe my appointment came, to be Adviser on Higher Education for Women in Japan for SCAP.

Brewer: Can you tell us about the organization of SCAP?

Holmes: When I reported for duty at Radio Tokyo on August 7th, 1946, I found the military section of SCAP, the Supreme Command of Allied Powers, had been on duty there since





September 22nd, 1945. During that year the Occupation pattern had been set up to become very efficient in several different areas. And among those areas was a Civil Information and Education section. It was to this section that I was assigned.

The directive for this section was first that a viable system of education for a democracy should be established in Japan as quickly as possible. That might involve stamping out remnants of the old militaristic regime, and it certainly would mean a good deal of rethinking of objectives and of new curriculum in relation to those objectives.

Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Nugent was chief of the section. He had had some experience in Japanese schools before the war. Colonel Mark Orr was head of the Education Division. Eileen Donovan, a WAC, a former junior high school teacher in Boston, was to work with me on women's education. The staff had been making contacts in the previous year with educators throughout Japan and had a very good working relationship with many such people before any civilian advisers came into the picture.

In March of 1946 an Education Mission had been sent out from the United States. Thirty prominent university professors and administrators had been there



for one month making their recommendations about possible changes in the educational system of Japan. There also had been appointed their counterpart, the Japan Education Reform Committee, under the chairmanship of President (Shigeru) Nombara, who was at that time president of Tokyo Imperial University.

Recommendations from these two bodies of educators formed the guide along which the Education Division made its recommendations and plans in conjunction with officials of the Japanese Ministry of Education, the Mombusho. It was a directive from General MacArthur that all changes brought about at any point in the government of Japan should be done through and with the existing Japanese officials.

I think maybe another question now.

Brewer: Could you describe a bit more the makeup of the Mombusho?

Holmes: It was a federal ministry of education and had very strict and definite control over the whole educational system of Japan from the primary schools right through the universities.

Brewer: And who was the head of the Mombusho?

Holmes: The Minister of Education, and, of course, he varied from time to time. Dr. Tatsuo Morito was the Minister during most of the time that I was in Japan.

Well, there were chiefs of bureaus in the Mombusho and heads of sections. The two men who worked with the education division of C.I.E. most consistently were Mr. Matsui from the social education section of the Mombusho and Mr. D. Hidaka, who was chief of the Bureau of



Higher Schools of the Mombusho.

Brewster: With whom did you work?

Holmes: I worked with both of these men. It was imperative that anything that we hoped would get done would be sent through these men or committees whom they might appoint to the Mombusho, where any action to be undertaken would be decided upon and sent either to the Diet or to the Minister, who might be able to make such changes.

By the time I arrived the staff had been for some time discussing <sup>with</sup> ~~the~~ various officials of the Mombusho the sort of education which would be the best preparation for responsible citizenship in a Democratic Japan. The imperative was that there be a free flow of movement from the first grade through to the universities if possible, and that had not been true under the old system. The first six years had been free and compulsory education. Then there had been a series of lower middle schools, some three years, some five years, which moved out into some vocational education or preparation for higher middle schools.

There had followed on the higher middle schools at the end of the eleven years two types of preparatory schools, a Senmon gakko and the Koto gakko. The Senmon gakko were a great variety of junior college type schools, some of them liberal arts but many of them specializing in one vocational subject or another. The Koto gakko were the preparatory schools for the University, which began at the end of the fourteenth year and moved through the



seventeenth year, as the university system of Europe has long done.

It was at the **Koto gakko** point that many students were stopped and were never allowed to go on to the university--one, because of the expense of the **Koto gakko**, and two, because of their very exclusive admission standards, and, three, because no women were ever admitted to **Koto gakko**. There needed to be a system then which did not stop young people from university preparation and the opportunity to go through a university.

The system which had been discussed primarily was the 6-3-3-4 system, and the Japanese Ministry officials were quite amenable to changing to that. And when the new school law was finally worked out and passed in March, 1947, it was a 6-3-3-4 system which was adopted, making it possible for a student to move from the first grade through the university.

The first official conference which Eileen Donovan and I had with the **E**ducation **D**ivision was to make our recommendations regarding women's education should this new system be developed. It was our stipulation that we would like to ask that throughout the 6-6-3-4 system the curricula for boys and for girls should be identical, with some electives, of course,





along the way. The old school law had provided that at the end of the third year the girls should be removed from the boy classes and sent into other classrooms under less well-prepared teachers, sometimes into other school buildings if there were old school buildings that needed to be utilized. And in every respect girls' education was a second-rate education from that point forward. We felt that in a democratic society that situation must cease.

It was on September 5th that I had my first conference with Mr. Hidaka from the Mombusho on ~~and~~ the question of Article 51 of the old school law, the article which provided for this separation of the girls from boys after the third year; and that was the beginning of a long series of conferences on this subject before the new school law was passed.

**Brewer:** Is it fair to ask if Mr. Hidaka was cooperative? Did he approve of this new reform?

**Holmes:** I think on the whole Mr. Hidaka was in a very difficult position. He was a member of the Mombusho and had to represent their point of view. On the other hand, I think he was a progressive person and was willing to admit of changes. But he felt that it would not be possible to change one section of the old school law without changing them all, and that was a reasonable position



to take.

BrewerC: Dean Holmes, how did you get the idea or how did it come to you that the Japanese women's higher education needed reform?

Holmes: Well, perhaps I should tell about my first trip to **Sendai** , and then I will move on to your question, because this trip to **Sendai** I brought home to me pretty clearly that the old school law was still firmly fixed in the minds of most of the educators in Japan. This trip was to visit the Teacher Training college at Sendai. And when I was introduced to the president of that college and the faculty, it was perfectly evident that they were quite suspicious of what my plans might be for women's education in Japan. Without much delay the president asked me if I planned to introduce co-education into the Japanese school system. Really deliberating for a time I said, "Well, what would you think of that change?"

"Sa!" he said. "It is possible that the girls and the boys might remain together in the same classes through the first five years, but at the end of the fifth year the inferiority of the female mind would become embarrassingly apparent."

And so I knew that we had a long-standing tradition to combat.

To go back to my particular responsibility at C.I.E.,



I was told by the head of our section that my job was whatever I could make it, that there were no foreordained plans made for higher education or changes in the higher education of Japanese women.

I was very happy that Dr. DeForest, long-time president of **Kobe** College, had sent to me letters of introduction to some of the prominent educators of women in Japan.

Brewer: Who were some of them?

Holmes: Well, Miss **Ai Hoshino**, president of **Tsuda** College, was one; and, as a matter of fact, she was the first to respond to my invitation to come to the office. At that time I didn't realize what an ordeal it was for her to make that trip because she had to stand all the way in badly crowded cars to come in from **Kodaira**, several hours out of Tokyo.

Brewer: Although **Tsuda** is in Tokyo, it's approximately the distance from, say, San Francisco to San Mateo, isn't it?

Holmes: Yes, at least that. Their campus is out on the edge of the city. When I talked with Miss Hoshino about what she felt the higher education for women in Japan needed most, without one moment's delay she said, "The women of Japan must be able to get university degrees." Of course, I knew that since they could not go to **koto gakko**, they had not been going to the men's universities; and I also knew that there were no women's universities. Miss Hoshino and others who followed told me that they had



made many representations to the Mombusho seeking recognition for women's universities but had never been able to get any such help.

Brewer: Who were some of the women presidents of the--really junior colleges (weren't they?)--who came to see you?

Holmes: Yes, they were really Senmon gakko. That was as far as women's education had progressed. Some of these other women were not necessarily presidents. Miss Fujita came in. She also was from Tsuda College.

Brewer: She's now the president.

Holmes: She's now the president of that college. Miss Jodai from Nihon Joshi Dai [Japan Women's University], who was head of the English literature department of that college and later president of it, also came in.

I later had conferences with Mr. Matsui from the Mombusho and with Mrs. Maiyora from the Mombusho on this subject, and I found that they were very hesitant to make any commitments and have any change in women's higher education.

Then the question came to my mind: How is the matter of universities handled in the United States? How does an institution become a university? And I realized it was through accreditation associations composed of officers of existing universities who set up their standards and sent out their examination committees. And I thought perhaps this was the way we should





attempt it here in Japan. The opportunity was at hand of because in the discussion at the 6-3-3-4 plan, the 4 unit would be a new daigaku moving the existing universities down from the fourteenth year to the thirteenth year of schooling and changing their curricular set-up; and if it became possible for present junior colleges to be advanced, they would of course have to add two or in some cases three years to their curriculum. In other words, it was necessary that a tremendous amount of re-thinking be done with regard to that four-year daigaku, and who better to do it than the presidents of the existing universities?

So I asked Mr. Matsui if he would call together those men for a conference on the question of setting up standards for the new four-year daigaku, and he very graciously sent out the letters asking those men to meet with me on October 29th, 1946.

I shall never forget moving into that room of distinguished Japanese university presidents with my interpreter, Frank Kawamoto. I think that those men were not at all prepared to meet a woman educator. They were in a very difficult position because officials at the Mombusho under whom they had been working were also at the meeting, and they were in no mood to commit themselves to any new ideas. Talking through an interpreter is a



cumbersome business at best, and it took a long while for me to describe to those gentlemen what I had in mind as an accreditation association organized for the purpose of setting up a new four-year daigaku unit. The longer I talked the more I realized that they were not going to be interested in it, that they did not dare to express any interest in the presence of the Mombusho officials. So at the end of two hours I turned to my interpreter and asked him to tell these gentlemen that I appreciated their coming, that I hoped they would go home and think this matter over seriously and that we would get in touch with them again at some later time.

As \_\_\_\_\_ soon as the meeting broke up, one little Japanese man who had been sitting in the front row and who I realized was interested in what I was saying came up and introduced himself to me. He was Dr. K. Wada, president of the Tokyo Technical Institute. He said, "I know what you are talking about. My daughter graduated from Wellesley College and she married a man who graduated from Harvard."

"Oh," I said, "Dr. Wada, would you be interested in helping to set up an organization of university officials to organize a pattern for the new four-year daigaku?"

And he said, "Yes, I will do what I can."



I made an appointment with him to come to my office the next week and from that time forward Dr. Wada of Tokyo Technical Institute carried the major responsibility, with his colleague, Dr. Sasaki of the same university, for setting up the Japanese University Accreditation Association.

There were other things that it seemed to me we might do. One other was to take steps toward building a public opinion in favor of more higher education for Japanese women. After all, nineteen years of age, which was the graduation point from the old *semmon gakko*, was also the ideal marriage age for Japanese girls; and I knew that it was going to take a great deal of persuasion both of parents and of girls to wish upon them two or three more years of education. I thought then again of the experience in our own country and remembered that the American Association of University Women had had a tremendous amount of influence in persuading American women to go on to the universities and in persuading American universities to accept American women students.

I met a Mrs. Matsumiya who had been an active member of the Tokyo branch of A.A.U.W. before the war. There had been almost two hundred members of that branch, most of them American women but many Japanese women, graduates of American colleges. I talked with Mrs. Matsumiya about establishing an association which would function something as A.A.U.W. had functioned at home,



and she, of course, felt that we should have another branch of A.A. U.W. But I felt that we should have a wholly Japanese association. So she laughed and said she would gather together what friends she could find and we could talk the matter over.

So early in September Mrs. Matsumiya arranged for a group of American-educated Japanese women to meet with Miss Donovan and me at the old Columbia University Club in downtown Tokyo. I think about fifteen women appeared at that meeting, and we talked very seriously about the need to build a public opinion in favor of more education for women in Japan, and finally an informal organization was set up under the presidency of Miss Taki Fujita. That organization chose the name of Japanese Association of University Women, and we met monthly during that winter in Tokyo and gathered in more and more Japanese women. We had set standards for the organization at graduation from the semon gakko levels; since there were no Japanese-university women; but by setting the standards there we were able to take in a great many more very intelligent and competent Japanese women who were interested and anxious to promote the cause of higher education for women.

Brewer: Dean Holmes you said, "We met." I gather then that the Japanese Council or the officers of the Japanese University Women met with you and other members of your staff.





Is that the way it worked?

Holmes: Miss Donovan and I met with them for those first few months, yes.

Brewer: And what kinds of discussions did you have?

Holmes: We had primarily to set up what would be the standards for members to begin with. Then we wanted to spread this organization outside of Tokyo, and they began hunting for contacts among their friends for women who would be eligible--down at Kobe, for instance, or up at Sendai--and of course in the meantime I was traveling quite frequently into the various prefectures of Japan to meetings of various kinds and usually could arrange to meet with a group of women who might be eligible for the Japanese Association of University Women. And so in the course of the two years that I was in Japan we were able to organize several different branches of the Japanese Association of University Women.

Brewer: I'm very much interested in how you got your uniform standards because you must have had such a variety of training. There was Miss Fujita, who was educated at Bryn Mawr at least part of the time and who had some knowledge of American training, and then you must have had a lot of people who had only the very limited Japanese training available. Is that true?

Holmes: As I said, we couldn't set the standards at a B.A. degree **though** Miss Fujita had one, yes, and many many dozens of other Japanese women did have B.A. degrees from



American or European institutions. So we had to set our standards at graduation from approved semmon gakko, and there again we had to determine what was an approved semmon gakko. They worked that out. A committee of Japanese educators worked that out primarily on the basis of how much liberal arts was available in the curriculum, because, as I said, many semmon gakko were highly specialized schools.

Brewer: Schools like Nihon Joshidai, for example, specialized, didn't it, in music, arts and literature and domestic science?

Holmes: Yes. But they had enough liberal arts in their literature course so that people from that course, the committee felt, would be eligible, you see. And that was true of many of the other semmon gakko. It's about the same system that the American Association of University Women used when they didn't approve all degrees, you remember, here for many years but only those with a certain liberal arts content.

This matter of home economics brings me to another very important point. Home economics had been pretty nearly the sole content in the elementary and lower middle school curriculum for girls and a rather elementary kind of home economics--really cooking and sewing--, a sort of addendum to the Ona Daigaku. The Ona Daigaku was a compendium of all knowledge which a Japanese woman



should have, ranging all the way from how to cook fish to how to please her husband.

Brewer: That's the book that's also known as Woman's Courage, isn't it? It's a 19th century handbook for women.

Holmes: Yes. It was the Bible for Japanese women. And the domestic science courses in the girls' schools were largely an extension of that.

Well, I realized in reorganizing the curriculum for Japanese women that we would have to have an entirely different kind of domestic science, particularly if ever it was to be recognized at the university level. And I also realized that there was going to have to be that offering at all levels of education for Japanese women; that it could not be eliminated entirely.

One of my old students at Washington State College, Matsuyo Omori, had majored in home economics with us and then gone on to the Good HouseKeeping Institute in New York and upon her return to Japan had done some outstanding work in adapting some of the more scientific approaches to home economics to the use and practice of Japanese women. Her employment by the YWCA in Tokyo had given her a good deal of opportunity there, and I had known of her work. So I had hoped to make contact with Matsuyo Omori; but to make contact with anybody in a bombed-out city is more of a problem than one realizes, and I had not been



able to find Matsuyo. One day I looked up from my desk in our office in Radio Tokyo and a little old lady was limping over to ~~to~~ me; and as I got up to speak to her she said, "Dean Holmes, don't you know me?" It was Matsuyo Omori, who had been down in Singapore commandeered ~~by~~ the Japanese Army, where she had ~~contracted~~ hepatitis and had been desperately ill for the last two years. But when she saw my picture in the city papers and read of the work I was to do there, she made an heroic effort to get to me to offer to become my interpreter.

I said, "Oh, Matsuyo, I have far more important work than that for you to do," and I talked with her about the reorganization of women's education and the need for home economics at various levels, but the need for a much more scientific kind of home economics than had been taught before. **And** I wondered if she'd be interested in working on that? She was thrilled, of course, with the opportunity; and so I told her to go home and restore her health as rapidly as possible and that I would send to the United States for home economics curricula for different grade levels in the various states and get the material to her as soon as possible.

She read over this material as fast as it came; and in a very short time had outlined what could be a very helpful home economics curriculum at various grade levels in the Japanese school **system**. We had hoped





it would be an elective at most levels, and she organized the courses with that in mind.

Then, of course, the problem became how to give her an official position so that this curriculum might be properly presented for adoption by the Mombusho. Eventually we were able to get her a position in the secondary section of the Japanese Ministry of Education where she was very happily accepted, and her work resulted in new and improved home economics curricula all through the twelve grades of the new school system.

At the end of that work she was invited to go to the Ministry of Agriculture where she set up the extension system of education for adults all through Japan and has been chief of the Bureau of Adult Extension Courses in the Ministry of Agriculture ever since.

**These past two years she has spent in** Rome with FAO as a consultant, and she has also traveled in India and in various countries of South-east Asia as a consultant; so that her work has spread very far beyond Japan.



There was another approach which it seemed to me important to make in interesting people in higher education for women, and that was with the girls themselves. So I invited a group of semmon gakko girls from the schools near Tokyo to come in with their advisers. I asked for school association officers and their advisers to come and meet with me at the Mombusho. Imagine my consternation on that Saturday afternoon when I went in, to meet frock-coated middle-aged gentlemen sitting with their girls in this crowded room! It had never occurred to me that the advisers for the girls' clubs would be men, but they certainly took their positions as advisers very seriously or they never would have made that grip in on that Saturday afternoon into the city.

I sat down and began talking with the girls about what they were doing and their student associations and what sorts of professional work they were interested in undertaking in their colleges--the sorts of things that college girls would be interested in--and each time I asked a question one of these male advisers would rise, bow from the waist and give me a full answer. I didn't have one word from any girl that entire afternoon.

On the way home my interpreter said, "Well, we should have known that those men would be coming and



that no Japanese girl would rise and speak before a Japanese man, and certainly no young girl before an older man."

So that first meeting was a total failure. But each time I visited other colleges as I traveled out over the Empire I made it a point to meet with whatever student organization officers there were, and as I went about I found plenty of interested leadership among the girls. And before I left in Japan in 1948 we had a National Student Association meeting in Kyoto with nary an adviser invited, and I never had a livelier discussion with college girls at any time in the United States than we had at that meeting.

And so we got the girls to thinking about what two more years of college was going to mean to them and got them interested and working.

There was another approach which we also could make, and that was through the general organization of women's groups throughout Japan. Lieutenant Weck, one of the WAC officers in the Occupation, was assigned the job of getting women interested in working through organizations. There had been some women's clubs before



the war, alumni clubs of colleges primarily, some parents'-teachers' associations, but very little of the women's club movement as we know it in the United States. Of course, wherever Lieutenant Weed went to discuss the organization of women and the responsibilities which they could take, I asked her to discuss with them the responsibility of women's clubs for helping girls to more education. Often Lieutenant Weed and I traveled together, and we certainly worked together hand in glove and found that the growing interest of women in their own program for their own organizations was a channel of excellent leadership for Japan.

During the war the women had been whipped together into a Mothers' Club, a national organization under the aegis of the Army; and I remember when I was there in '34-'35, whenever the train would stop at any station, these little white aproned women would rush up to whatever officers were riding in the train and offer them pin cushions or lunches or some little tid-bit that was a part of their program. But they'd had very little experience in building programs for action out of their own interests, and Lieutenant Weed did a splendid job in getting them started on that track and did the cause of higher





education for women many a good turn in her work, too.

Now, to go back to some of the starts which we had made, the Japanese Accreditation Association, of course, gradually developed into a very complex organization. I asked Major Thomas McGrail, who had been on the faculty at the University of New Hampshire, who was a member of the Education Division, to work with me on that project; and as more civilian advisers came over we included them and their skills until the University Accreditation Association really became a project of a good number of the members of the C.I.E. education staff.

Those men really became quite interested as they went along in setting up standards for each department of a university, in setting up credits and transfer facilities, in setting up administrative procedures. There were committees also for setting up ~~personnel~~ programs, about which these Japanese universities had never known very much. There were committees for setting up standards for women's higher education. It was a huge and going concern.



It was a matter of great pride to all of us when on July 8th in 1947 the organization became formalized and was recognized by the Mombusho as the agency for setting up standards for the new four-year daigaku.

Now, in order to have any more institutions given university status there had to be accrediting committees, and this association set up such committees and sent them out to inspect many semmon gakko who wished to be elevated to daigaku status. The actual chartering of universities was left in the hands of the Mombusho in order that the Japanese Accreditation Association might never become a government agency. That seemed an important matter to those men, and I think they were right about it.

They also set up standards for graduate divisions of universities. Graduate degrees in Japanese universities had only been a matter of an individual doing some piece of research, perhaps with a friend on the faculty. He might gain that friend's approval of whatever his research was and through the friend's influence might be given an advanced degree. There had never been anything such as a graduate university curriculum, and so this Accreditation Association set



up such a curriculum there, too.

It was my great pleasure before I left in 1948 to have the Accreditation Association recommend that sixteen semmon gakko be elevated to the status of daigaku, and among them were five women's semmon gakko.

Brewer: Do you remember which ones they were?

Holmes: Yes, there was Nihon Joshi Dai; there was Kobe Women's College; there was Seishin Joshigakuin (Seishin was a Catholic university); there was Tokyo Women's Christian College, and Tsuda College.

Brewer: Would you characterize those different colleges if you have time now, Dean Holmes?

Holmes: Each of these was literally a liberal arts college. It was not one of the narrowly specialized semmon gakko to which I have referred previously. Each of them had a three-year course and one or two had added a fourth year, what would be a good liberal arts college here in the States. Most lacked a fourth year, and the Accrediting Committee recommended in several cases that they should increase their library facilities, that perhaps they needed to have better physical education facilities. In one or two cases they needed more professors with more advanced degrees. But in each case the additional requirements were quite within the province of the school to achieve within a reasonable length of time.



Brewer: But now there's a difference, for example, between a college like **Nihon Joshi Dai** and Tsuda College, isn't there?

Holmes: Yes, there's a difference in terms of their interests and of their background. Both of those colleges are indigenous Japanese colleges. By that I mean they are not under the aegis of any foreign mission board or board from any foreign country. They have built their own campuses and their own faculties and their own facilities without any outside help. Tsuda College is primarily a liberal arts college. **Nihon Joshi Dai** has a liberal arts division--what they call a literature division. They also have a science division, which moves into home economics. They teach some music. **Nihon Joshi Dai** has their own secondary school, and they have also an elementary school which they use as a practice school in training teachers. Tsuda has only their four-year daigaku level.

Brewer: Now they have a graduate school, as you know.

Holmes: Yes, both those colleges have graduate divisions. Tsuda has a graduate division in mathematics, and **Nihon Joshi Dai** has a graduate division in home economics and in English literature, I believe now.

Brewer: Tsuda, too.





Holmes: They may have progressed beyond two years ago.

Brewer: Tsuda is very proud, isn't it, of its affiliation with Bryn Mawr?

Holmes: Yes, Miss Tsuda, who established the college, was a Bryn Mawr graduate, and so many of their faculty have been trained at Bryn Mawr, and they have maintained more or less Bryn Mawr as an ideal, I think, in the whole development of their college.

Brewer: How about Tokyo Christian College?

Holmes: Tokyo Women's Christian College was primarily under the aegis of the Presbyterian Mission Board, although I believe some of the other mission boards also had assisted there. It had an excellent plant and had evidently had good financial support from the very beginning, and they also had very high academic standards.

Brewer: How about Kobe College?

Holmes: Well, Kobe had been established by the Congregational Mission Board. Kobe is over 85 years old now, nearly 90, I guess, and had been developed with a great deal of help from the Congregational Board of Foreign Missions in its early years. They have a beautiful campus on the outskirts of the city of Kobe and a broad liberal arts curriculum. Also they have home economics



and have lately developed a school for the training of social workers.

Brewer: How about **Seishin**?

Holmes: Well, **Seishin** is a liberal arts college pretty much as a Catholic college here would be, a four-year undergraduate Catholic college. I'm not sure whether they've gone into graduate work or not. I'm sure that Mother Britt, then the principal of the college planned to do that, but I'm simply not informed about what they have accomplished so far.

There's another organization which I think I should like to mention. This was established solely at the instigation of the officers of the women's colleges. It is known as the Association of Women's Colleges, and there are sixteen members of it now. They meet together once or twice a year to compare notes on the progress of their various institutions and to keep the standards high for all women's colleges, and I think it has become quite an influential organization there.

I do want to say that one of the tremendous problems which the Japanese educators faced at the end



war was the fact that they had been cut off from all intercourse with any other countries for at least ten years, and they were quite unaware really of what was going on in educational institutions the world over. So it seemed best as soon as possible to get some of those people over into the West again. And it was very gratifying to be able to get scholarships for four of the leading women educators to come to the United States in 1949 and '50. Miss Jodai from **Nihon Joshi Dai** was given a scholarship to Smith College. Miss **Taki** Fujita was given a scholarship to Bryn Mawr. Miss Tombe from Kobe College was given a scholarship to Wellesley. And Miss **Komyo** from Tokyo Women's Christian College came over to Teachers College in New York.

Those women very quickly sensed with their experience here the progress that had been made in education for women since they had been involved in this country before, and of course they were all in key positions to go home and institute many of those new ideas in their own institutions.



Brewer: Dean Holmes, will you describe the present situation in the Japanese Association of University Women?

Holmes: When I returned to Japan in the fall of 1963, I was happy to have meetings and conferences with their national board in Tokyo and with the branch in Tokyo, and I also met with the branches in **Osaka and Kobe and** in Kyoto. And I was more than pleased with the initiative and responsibility which those women have assumed. They are offering scholarships to Japanese girls to go on to college. Last year they offered a **foreign** scholarship. This one was awarded to a woman from Burma. They paid her entire expenses for a year's education in **Japan**. They have been taking for their study program Japan's place in South-east Asia and the South Pacific, with the idea of trying to educate their members to the future international role of Japan.

Most important, they are planning their own program and their own projects and are assuming the responsibility for promoting higher education for women, which is their primary prerogative.

Brewer: A little while ago you mentioned the problems connected with co-education.





Holmes: Yes, I haven't mentioned co-education since my story of my first trip to **Sendai**.

The year I was in Kobe College was a very real education for me. I was far more fortunate than simply to be a teacher on a foreign faculty. Because Dr. DeForest lived in a house where all the American teachers lived, we had conversations at the table three times a day and many evenings about Japan and Japan's problems. Dr. DeForest was born and raised in Japan, she spoke their language as well as a native person, and was thoroughly sympathetic with the Japanese point of view. So through her I acquired an intimate knowledge and sensitivity to the Japanese point of view that normally I think one year's experience in that country would not have achieved.

I was well aware of the fact that co-education was a real menace hanging over the heads of Japanese parents. The perpetuation of the family system in Japan was then--and I'm sure still is--one of their major concerns. And if young Japanese men and women are thrown together too informally, there is the danger that they may wish to choose their own **marriage partners and that** the control which has always



been exercised by the older generation over the new members to be brought into a given family will be weakened.

I must say that my experience both in Japan and in America has convinced me of some of the advantages of the old Japanese system, for I feel that parents in choosing partners for their young people went into matters of much more vital concern than most young people ever go into for themselves in this country or anywhere else. So I, too, was sympathetic with their concern over the breakdown of the family and the control over the marriages into families.

So it was never any part of my intention when I accepted this position as adviser on higher education to press for co-education in Japan. As a matter of fact, the education mission of thirty educators from this country to which I have previously referred made no stipulation about co-education. They only said in their recommendations that there should be equal educational opportunities for all men and women. The Japan Education Reform Council, their counterpart, also made that recommendation--that there should be no discrimination against women in the matter of



education. The new Constitution of Japan which was adopted made it very clear that women should not be discriminated against in any area of life.

And so when we started to work on reorganizing the educational pattern, as I said, Miss Donovan and I simply stipulated that the curriculum should be the same for both boys and girls, with the exception of elective subjects, which would be available to both sexes. And it was with that idea in mind that we went ahead with our responsibility for women's education.

When the new Japan Educational Law was passed in March of 1947, Article 51 was eliminated--that article about which I had had so many conversations with Mr. Hidaka--that provided, as you remember, for segregation of girls from boys after the third grade; and the law went so far as to say that girls and boys should have equal educational opportunities and that the principle of co-education was acceptable.

That is where SCAP left the matter, with the idea that there would be no legal stumbling blocks toward co-education if it should be desired, but there would be no pressure to introduce it.

Now, the thing that really brought co-education



into Japan so rapidly after the war, and which has wrongly been attributed to pressures from SCAP, was purely the economic situation. Most of the school buildings in the major centers had been legitimate targets of war because they had installed machine shops for the making of small arms and armaments, and the students had spent eight hours of the day working in those shops. The result was that many many schools were destroyed and many badly damaged. And when it became essential then to build new schools it wasn't economically feasible to build two schools, one for boys and one for girls. And so it simply developed that they kept the boys and the girls going on to school together in the same building.

So far as higher education was concerned, there was never a word said in the Accreditation Association by SCAP with regard to co-education. The matter was never mentioned. But Dr. Nombara, who was then president of the then Tokyo Imperial University, and also chairman of the Japan Education Reform Council, had also worked very closely with us in the Japan Accreditation Association and had come to be a warm supporter of the changes that were being recommended there.





Just before I left Japan toward the end of March in 1948, Dr. Nombara called me and asked me to come to his office for a conference. So I took Mrs. **Moriya**, my interpreter, with me to be sure we understood each other. Although Dr. Nombara spoke excellent English, I wanted to be quite sure that everything that was said was understood clearly. We went to Dr. Nombara's office. We had tea and a jovial visit for a little while, and then without any warning Dr. Nombara turned to me and he said, "**Holmes Sensai**, you will be happy to learn that as of April 1st, 1948, Tokyo National University the new name for it<sup>7</sup> will become co-educational."

Well, I laughed and said, "Oh, Dr. Nombara, you must be twitting me."

"No," he said, "I mean it."

And I said, "Well, tell me how much."

"Well," he said, "we will admit as of April 1st, 1948, twenty girls to a nursing education course at the university level."

And I said, "And how many men will you have at that time?"

"Oh, ten thousand or so."

And we laughed. But nonetheless I said, "That's all right. That's the breakthrough. That is the



beginning, and I greatly appreciate your taking that step."

Well, of course, as soon as Tokyo National University became co-educational even in that very modest way, that led the way for any other men's universities who so chose to accept women students, and they began doing so with far greater alacrity than it had ever occurred to me that it could happen. And the result is that most of the men's universities, both government and private now, do have women students. And so co-education is an established fact but under no pressure whatsoever from SCAP, and I would like to have that point cleared because it has been badly misrepresented in our press many times since the war.

J.I.C.U., the Japan International Christian University I would like to mention just briefly. It was a university which had long been desired by the Christian schools in Japan to coordinate their work at the graduate level. I worked with their committee immediately following the war, and it was decided that a co-educational graduate school which could be a model for all graduate schools would be



set up under the name of Japan International Christian University.

Well, one of the provisions of the Accreditation Association had been that there should be no graduate university save in those institutions which had an undergraduate college. So J.I.C.U. started out as an undergraduate college necessarily. But it has now three graduate departments and intends to put its major emphasis on graduate work in the future.

J.I.C.U. was in a position then to use any innovations which it might choose to do, and so we planned that it would choose to become a co-educational university from the beginning; that it would become a resident college insofar as possible--that is, that as many students as possible would be housed on the campus and as many faculty members as possible would be provided with homes on the campus.

It was also provided that J.I.C.U. would be a bi-lingual university; that all students graduating from there would have facility in both the Japanese and the English languages. And I'm happy to say that the institution has grown beyond all our original expectations and is, I feel, setting an excellent example for the kind of undergraduate and graduate



co-educational university education, which can mean a great deal for the future of Japan.

Brewer: What do you think, Dean Holmes, about the speedy growth of the daigaku in Japan?

Holmes: Well, I think it's quite possible that when the chartering committee, which was a division of the Nombusho operating under the recommendations of the Accreditation Association, probably was pressured very heavily to admit to daigaku status a great many of the **semmon gakko** and probably worked too fast and may have worked superficially, and they **may** have accepted as daigaku some schools which perhaps didn't deserve it.

I think, however, most of those schools were accepted conditionally. They all had to add a year or two to their curriculum.

They all had to add faculty. Many of them had to add library facilities and physical education facilities and other buildings, and facilities; and in the course of the probationary period before they actually were designated as daigaku I'm sure many were eliminated and never





received actual daigaku status which they sought.

I also feel that while of course there is a great hierarchy of universities, those that are most desirable even as in our own country, which most students would like best to be able to enter, those universities cannot accept all students even as they cannot in our own country, and there is ample opportunity for very good undergraduate and even graduate work in a great number of higher educational institutions; and that they are so filled with students now would be proof of the fact that there is demand and need for that enlarged number of colleges.

Brewer: Do you happen to remember after the University of Tokyo admitted the twenty women in nursing if the other imperial universities restricted their admissions of women to nursing or if they broke the pattern and admitted women in other subjects like English literature?

Holmes: I think that the pattern was not necessarily confined to nursing education because not all the imperial universities had nursing education departments. I think women have filtered in particularly to the liberal arts schools and universities, although there are some very fine scientists among Japanese women who have received their education in the government



universities as well as the private universities.

Brewer: There's one question I want to ask you in connection with this, and that's in connection with graduate training for women in Japan. I would be very much interested to see how many Japanese women have come over here to this country to do **graduate** work, and I wondered if that had anything at all to do with the Japanese educational system--any hangovers.

Holmes: Well, yes, I think probably so. I think that there probably is much greater reluctance on the part of the Japanese graduate schools to accept women than there is on the part of American graduate schools to accept women. I'm sure there still is and will be for some time to come. I think a great many of the Japanese women who have come to America to do graduate work have come on scholarships from America, which were not available in Japan for them; and I also think that a great many have come over here to take training in different professions **for which** there is not yet preparation in the graduate schools in Japan. So I believe all those factors would perhaps tend to send women here in great numbers still and probably will for some time to come.



Brewer: That takes me back again to the devastating comment about female inferiority as spoken by the president of Sendai. And I wonder if you feel like describing the training and accomplishments of the prominent women educators who carried through the great burden of establishing the four-year daigaku.

Holmes: Yes, I feel that there have been some heroic women of great mental stature in post-war Japan who have proven the ability of Japanese women to operate at the highest level intellectually and administratively. I would like to refer, for instance, to **Taki Fujita**, who had been on the faculty of Tsuda College for many years. Soon after the war she accepted a position in the Women's and Children's Bureau of the Japanese government, where she did a great deal to build that bureau to an effective status. Later she was appointed alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly and came over here for many years to attend those Assembly meetings. She is now president of Tsuda College.

I would like to refer to Tano Jodai, who was dean of the literature department at **Nihon Joshi Dai** for many years and has since the war been president of that college. She took her undergraduate work



over here at Wells College. Then she did graduate work at Michigan, at **Newham** College in Cambridge University, and has **certainly had a background of higher** education equal to any American woman educator, and has proved to be a most effective administrative officer of her college **and** a very influential leader of women generally in Japan. She was national president of the International Women's Peace Organization there for many years; and **Dr. Hiro Yuasa, the first president** of Japan International Christian University, who had been for a long time previous to that been president of **the Doshisha** University, told me that he considered Dr. Jodai the outstanding woman educator in Japan. Smith College awarded her an honorary doctorate degree a few years ago, indicating that they agree with this estimate of her abilities.

Miss Komyo, who came over here to take graduate work at Teachers College following the war, has been very influential at Tokyo Women's Christian College in setting up a wonderfully modern personnel guidance system there, something which was totally new in Japanese colleges. She's also been national president of the YWCA of Japan and has functioned in the international YWCA in various offices.







Miss Holmes with interpreter, at a mid-winter meeting



Lulu Holmes on the occasion of being made Honory Member of the Faculty of Nihon Joshi Dai. To her right, Tano Jodai, then head of the English Department. To her left, Dr. Ohashi, then President of Nihon Joshi Dai.



Lulu Holmes and Taki Fujita, First President of Japanese Association of University Women



development of a lot of the work you had started, didn't you?

Holmes: Yes, I was glad to be able to go back in the fall of 1963 and to reestablish very happy contacts with most of the Japanese women leaders with whom I had worked. In fact, they set up my appointment calendar and my itinerary for the six weeks that I spent in Japan and they kept me very busy.

Brewer: Was that the time you were made an honorary member of the faculty at Nihon Joshi Dai?

Holmes: No, I had received that honor before I left Japan in 1948, an honor which I greatly value.

Brewer: What did you see that impressed you in 1963?

Holmes: Well, of course, I should have realized that when great cities had been bombed flat as had the great cities of Japan that all the rebuilding would be very modern, and so I found Tokyo and the various other cities looked pretty much like Los Angeles or Chicago or any other western city, and that was of course a little disappointing. But it was only reasonable and practical.

In the same fashion it would seem as though in many ways the Japanese had bent over backwards to accept foreign ways that were unnecessary for them to accept. But I found after more conversation and



more observation that what they really were doing was accepting the comforts of western civilization, like cars and bathrooms and central heating and modern transportation, and those were all western in form, of course; but that perhaps underneath they still had a good deal of respect for their old values. In fact, I think perhaps that there's more feudalism still extant in Japan than meets the casual observer's eye.

I remember being so astonished the first time I left International House to go down to the Imperial Hotel at the tremendous numbers of private cars on the streets. Private cars had been ~~only~~the privilege of the very wealthy before the war, and I was even more astonished to find women driving these cars. But, as I looked a little more closely, I realized that these women in many cases were taking their husbands to work even as do western women, with this difference: that the husband was lolling in the back seat smoking a cigarette at leisure!

When I took my first trips out into the country I missed the peasant women in the rice paddies because always through the centuries there have been armies of peasant women bending over, planting rice, weeding the rice, cutting the rice--armies of peasant women.



The fields seemed fairly empty to me. I made that remark upon returning for dinner at International House that night and one of the Japanese men said, "Oh, yes, we have certain kinds of machines now which have really relieved the peasant women of much of that work, and now they're free to work on the roads." And in my next trips to the country I saw Japanese women still carrying great basket loads of stones on their heads and their backs just as they had always carried great loads through the centuries. So there is still feudalism which the women of Japan have not yet eradicated and won't for a good many generations.

On the other hand, I was thrilled to read in a table of statistics that there are now 80,000 women in degree-giving colleges in Japan when there had been none before 1948. And in conferences which I was privileged to have with college girls at Tsuda and at Kobe Daigakuin I was also pleased at their freedom to talk, to express themselves, their ideas, their independent ambition. I was a little abashed, too, to discover that perhaps we have bequeathed to them some of the same problems which American college girls have to face: namely, how to have a husband and a





job and a family all at the same time. We spent a good deal of time **talking about the need to sort out** their objectives and the time tables involved in attaining those objectives. But it was the freedom of those girls which gave me the greatest satisfaction.

I spent a good deal of time with the Association of Women's Colleges, which I think I have mentioned. That association has been very discriminating in its standards of admission and feel now that they represent the sixteen women's colleges which best meet the standards for the new four-year daigaku, and they are from time to time admitting new women's colleges. **But** I think it is a splendid thing that they are setting standards so that even though colleges may have received a charter in the post-war onrush and pressure upon the chartering committee, this will be an additional incentive for establishing really stable and worthwhile four-year daigaku, and I'm sure it is functioning in that fashion.

Withal it seems to me that any society is marked by the position which it gives to its women. That has been true all through history. And as societies have moved from tribal to agricultural societies, to the feudal system, toward democracy,



women have achieved a modicum of equality and partnership with men in that society. I feel that this is coming to be true in Japan.

While I suppose the women in any society no\_matter how primitive always control some of the purse strings or whatever the purse contains in a primitive society and have a certain amount of control over their children, the vision of women pushing the tent poles of their homes into the community is a mark of the educated women's mind, and that the Japanese women are now beginning to understand and are accepting responsibility for that enlarged vision of what is, after all, a home and a family and the rearing of young people fbr the responsibilities of adulthood.

Brewer: Thank you very very much for this most informative discussion and for your fascinating contribution to the history of American-Japanese educational relations.



Interviewee: Dr. Lulu H. Holmes  
Interviewer: Dr. Helena Maxwell Brewer  
Place: Dr. Holmes' residence in Berkeley  
Time: Second interview, August 13, 1966

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Brewer: Dean Holmes, what was it like to travel throughout Japan in those post-war years, from 1946 to 1948?

Holmes: I think I should make it clear that there were set up in each prefecture of Japan a prefectural replica of the SCAP at the national level. There was a military official at the head of the C.I.E. section for each prefecture, and as time went on there came to be civilian advisers in the prefectures just as there were at the national level. So that when it became apparent that a good part of my responsibility would be not only to set up possible changes in women's education but to sell the idea of increased education for women, it was very fortunate for me that there were officials in each prefecture who could set up meetings of various groups for me to contact and discuss matters with. So that it cut down a good deal on the necessary planning for moving out over the Empire to arrive in Kyoto, say, and to find that the head of C.I.E. there had arranged for me to address a group of 1500 women who were available to discuss higher



education for women or to work with the college president in his prefecture and find that he had set up a meeting of them with whom I could discuss the college Accreditation Association and so on. So that it was a fairly simple matter for me to get out over the Empire and meet a great number of people very easily and quickly, and I give full credit to those local representatives of C.I. E. for making this possible not only for me but for all other civilian advisers in SCAP.

We traveled only on military cars. Those cars were painted brown with a broad white stripe painted along their length, so that everybody in Japan knew that the people in those cars were connected with the Occupation. The **rolling** stock of the Japanese **railroads** had been decimated during the war and the cars were not in too good shape when we began traveling. There were no sleepers and there were no diners. Those situations were remedied as time went on.

So in our early trips we had to take "K" rations or "C" rations with us. It was amazing the staying power those bits of food had over long periods of time. We stayed in pretty primitive living conditions





in some of the places as we first went out. There were not hotels available in many of the cities, and we lived as the occupational officials were living and it wasn't always comfortable. But it was temporary, of course, for us **though and more permanent for them.**

We had quite a problem with the matter of interpreters. It was simpler in many ways to use local interpreters that the C.I. and E. officials locally could find. On the other hand, as we worked, we realized that the vocabulary of the Japanese language did not carry equivalents for many of the key phrases and expressions which we were using and needed to use to make ourselves clear. So increasingly it became better for us to carry our interpreters with us, and this was always a difficulty because they could not ride in the military cars with us, and they could not be put up in the military headquarters with us and they could not have the food that we could have access to. I found it very embarrassing. That was particularly true with **Naako Mitsui,** who was one of my interpreters in Tokyo. So I more often took Frank Kawamoto, who as a man I felt could manage for himself better than **she** could. But the question of interpretation was a moot question at all times because of this lack of



synonyms in the Japanese language, and we were always a little fearful lest the interpreter himself, in attempting to explain what we were saying, might make some mistake. But on the whole SCAP agreed that it was better for us to use interpreters than to try to use a flimsy and inadequate Japanese which we might be able to learn in a reasonably short time. And so we insisted on using interpreters.

It takes a little practice and skill to use an interpreter. The word order of their sentences is not the same as ours, and my interpreters asked me always to complete an idea and then stop and let them struggle with it as best they could rather than to use a few words or a phrase or two. They wanted to know what point I was making and then they would repeat it in the Japanese language. I think I was really very fortunate in keeping two or three interpreters with me the whole time I was there. We became accustomed to each other and learned how to work together easily. Most civilian advisers had their own interpreters for that reason.

Brewer: Did you go up as far as Hokkaido?

Holmes: Yes, I visited the University at Sapporo in Hokkaido and Sendai. I made several trips to most places. I went down to Fukuoka in Kyushu, and I was on



Shikoku with some of the college officers there and Hiroshima and Nagoya and most of the centers of Japan.

Brewer: So do you estimate that you were on the road half the time at least?

Holmes: No, I would say about a third of the time probably, perhaps ten days out of the month, sometimes more in one month and less in another, depending a little on the meetings that could be arranged at various places. We tried to make each trip accomplish as much as possible because we were needed in Tokyo, and couldn't be away too much.

Brewer: I suspect you were cold part of the time.

Holmes: Yes, it was very cold, and there's nothing that gives me a feeling of greater inferiority than taking off my shoes when I go into a Japanese building, and that is always necessary in everything but city office buildings. The floors were always cold; even in the summer they seemed cold. And sitting on the floor never became easy for me, but it was the thing to do, although the Japanese, as they came to know us, became quite informal about it and would tell us to put our legs out or in any direction that we chose, although it was very bad manners. They forgave us for that.

Brewer: Dean Holmes, when you first met the higher-ups in the



Japanese hierarchy, did you have to sit on your knees?

Holmes: No, there was no kow-towing. I tried to bend as formally as I could in acknowledgement of the greeting. But, no, there was never any kow-towing.

Brewer: Did you serve them tea when they came to your offices?

Holmes: Yes, we tried to do that always, and they always served us tea. That's a preliminary. It's not only a social gesture, but in most interviews it is sort of an introduction to the material which will be discussed. The Japanese are very prone to an indirect approach to almost any subject, and it takes time, and the tea gave the opportunity. And in the winter it was a lifesaver because it was a warmer-upper, which we greatly needed.

Brewer: Yes, and I expect those poor women who had traveled from long distances needed something like tea.

Holmes: Yes, they did. They would hold a cup in two hands.

**The Japanese way to receive a cup of tea or a gift of any kind is with two hands. And they will hold this cup of tea and warm their hands at it for a long while before they drink it. One shouldn't be too eager about gulping it down.**





Helene Maxwell Brewer  
Autobiographical Resume

Helene Maxwell Brewer was born in San Francisco, California, in 1907, and educated in San Mateo, Santa Barbara, Palo Alto, and Baltimore. She took her A.B. at Santa Barbara State College; her M.A. at Stanford; her Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University. In graduate school her training was largely in 17th and 18th century poetry, and she wrote her dissertation on Charles Montagu, Lord Halifax an almost totally and deservedly unknown and very minor poet. Just before she completed her dissertation, Allan Nevins offered her a job as research assistant on his biography of John D. Rockefeller. The results of this year and a half were that she slowly shifted her interest from 17th century English poetry to 19th and 20th century American literature, gradually moving into the interrelationships of politics and literature.

In an effort to make herself well informed on the political currents of the early 20th century, she began to study the progressive movement, concentrating her efforts on a biography of Francis J. Heney, the California graft buster and progressive. In the course of her research she was awarded a Pacific Coast Committee (A.C.L.S.) Grant-in-Aid (1946) and a Guggenheim Fellowship, 1949. She read extensively in the relevant manuscripts collections at the Library of Congress, Yale, Harvard, and other Eastern libraries. During this period she began her interest in interviewing and in tape recording the recollections of the persons who talked with her about the progressive movement and the Progressive party of 1912. In 1951 she was chief research assistant to the late Marquis James, who was beginning his extensive researches in preparation for his proposed biography of Booker T. Washington; the huge collection of Washington Papers at the Library of Congress and interviewing were her chief duties. In 1952 she became a member of the English Department of Queens College of the City University of New York, where she is now an associate professor.



In 1960 she came out to the Bancroft Library for the summer and was so much delighted with what she found that with the exception of the time she spent in Japan, she has come out every year. From 1966-1968, Mrs. Brewer was in Japan on a Fulbright grant, serving as Visiting Lecturer to three universities in Tokyo.

Her articles are eclectic, not from intention but from the circumstances of her life; they stretch from John Dryden to Bernard Malamud, the former article having been written just after she received her Ph.D. while the latter is now in press in Japan. In 1958 she edited Amos Pinchot's History of the Progressive Party, 1912-1916. Her favorite diversion is making tapes or being allowed to help on ROHO projects.

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Women's Faculty Club  
University of California  
Berkeley, California















